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The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. IX. (Third Series), No. 895.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1915.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free) 1d.

THE "ANTI" POINT OF VIEW



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WOMAN MUNITION MAKER: "You say the war needs my work as much as the man's. That is the same thing as saying that I have as much right as a man to a voice in the decisions of peace and war."

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: "Not at all the same thing! Your shells protect *me*. Your vote would only protect *you*."

("The man or woman who makes the shell or fuse is as valuable in this campaign as the man who fires the shell."—Mr. Herbert Samuel at the Coventry Ordnance Works, September 20, 1915.)

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. Telephone, Holborn 5880
Colours: Purple, White and Orange

THE CAMPAIGN

Indoor Meetings

Tuesday, October 5; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker: Mrs. Henderson.

Wednesday, October 6; 7.30 p.m.—Public Meeting.—Spinner's Hall, Bolton. Speakers: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mr. Laurence Housman. Chair: Rev. Jabez Bell. Admission free. Reserved seats 6d. and 1s.

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Friday, October 8; 8 p.m.—Public Meeting.—Church Institute, Albion Street, Hull. Speaker: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Admission free.

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FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, DECEMBER 10 AND 11; FROM 3 TO 10 P.M.—CHRISTMAS SALE.—CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER. PROCEEDS TO BE DEVOTED TO U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB.

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Thursday, September 30; 5.30 p.m.—Marble Arch. Speakers: Mrs. Gregory and Mr. Clifford Rowe.

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Saturday, October 2; 2.30 p.m.—Alexandra Park Gates, Manchester.

Sunday, October 3; 3.30 p.m.—Stevenson Square, Manchester.

TRAFALGAR SQUARE DEMONSTRATION

The success of last Sunday's Joint Demonstration of Suffragists and Trade Unionists surpassed all expectations. A record crowd assembled a full hour before the proceedings were timed to begin, and the VOTES FOR WOMEN and other paper-sellers did a brisk trade in consequence. At four o'clock the East End procession arrived, and at once the speaking began from the three platforms on the plinth. The U.S. speakers were on the East plinth, where their purple white and orange banners made a fine background of Suffrage colours. Mrs. Leigh Rothwell took the Chair here, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence held a large crowd deeply interested for some twenty minutes, and was loudly applauded when she had finished. Other speakers at this plinth were Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Mr. Outhwaite, M.P., Mrs. Davis (Forward Cymric Suffrage Union), and Mr. Friend.

Among the speakers at the other platforms were Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mr. W. C. Anderson, and Mrs. Despard.

The audience, largely composed of men in khaki, besides containing numbers of representative Suffragists, was friendly throughout, and the resolutions, condemning the new taxes on food, which will fall heaviest on those least able to bear them, and demanding equal pay for equal work, and the enfranchisement of women, were passed at all three platforms with acclamation.

A very impressive moment was reached at the close of the meeting, when the announcement was made of Mr. Keir Hardie's death. Every man in the crowd took off his hat, and a low murmur rose from all sides. The Chairman's exhortation to those present to go on with the fight for freedom as the finest tribute to his memory was warmly received.

Paper-selling Brisk!

Posters of VOTES FOR WOMEN were well in evidence in the Square from 2.30 onwards. Paper-sellers were everywhere, and they did a

brisk trade. Amongst them were two young members of the U.S. Club in Southwark—Miss Violet Ballantyne and Miss Nellie May. It was their first experience as sellers, but the former's sales broke the record of the day. One working man, after looking thoughtfully at the poster—"How much more must women pay for their Vote?"—said to the seller, "Yes, it's true; you've paid quite enough, mate."

The Collection

The response to the collection for expenses of the demonstration was prompt and generous from all classes. Men in khaki, U.S. Club members, and Trade Unionists, all alike were ready, and many dropped the coin into the box with a wish that it was more.

A blind man, himself collecting for his own support, called the collector back to ask what the money was wanted for, and on hearing it was for the demonstration expenses, he gave his penny with the rest. The total amount taken in the U.S. box was 10s. 6½d. One buyer gave 6d. for a copy of the paper.

U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

92, Borough Road, S.E.

Secretary, Miss M. R. Cochrane. Tel.: Hop 4172

On Tuesday evening Miss Sharp came to speak at the open meeting, and on Thursday Miss Hutton and Miss Munday gave us a concert. We have started our Club Savings Bank, and our members have already begun to put away for Christmas.

We hope to have our Jumble Sale on Wednesday, October 13. Will our readers please note the date, and send us large parcels: also sweets and cake?

We wish to thank the following: The Humanitarian League, for books; the Babies' Kits' Society (Sydney, Australia), per Miss Newcomb, for three babies' kits; Mrs. Allen, for home-made cake; Mr. Richmond and Miss Gore Browne, for flowers. We want a box of flowers regularly every Thursday if possible—the more flowers we have the better.

BIRMINGHAM U.S.

Organising Sec.: Miss Elizabeth Jenkins, 143, Bristol Street

Mr. George Lansbury will speak at Queen's College on October 6, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has promised for the meeting on November 3. Volunteers are urgently needed to help work up both these meetings. Members who can give time for paper-selling, or for minding the new office which is to be opened in October, are asked to send their names to the Organiser.

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The first public meeting arranged by United Suffragists in Hull will take place on Friday, October 8, at eight p.m., in the Church Institute, Albion Street, Hull. As Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be the speaker, we are looking forward to a crowded meeting. For the present, all communications should be addressed to Mrs. B. M. Holmes, 9, Salisbury Street, Hull.

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Hon. Sec.: Miss E. Pym, 2, Meadow Way Green

A new branch of the U.S. has been formed at Letchworth. A committee has been elected, and over twenty members are already enrolled. The members are hoping to add to their numbers by means of the monthly meetings for discussion, to which all interested are invited. The first was held last Wednesday, in the hall at the Wesleyan Church, Norton Way, when the Rev. Crowle Smith opened a discussion on the subject, "How Can Women Help in Reconstruction After the War?"

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A NEW POSTER

More, Please!

The Letchworth U.S. (just formed) has undertaken to pay for a VOTES FOR WOMEN poster at Letchworth Station. This is such an excellent piece of propaganda that we take this opportunity of suggesting that some of our readers should do the same in connection with the railway or tube station they most frequently use.

TO HELP OUR WOMEN'S CLUB!

Christmas Sale: December 10 and 11: 3.10 p.m.
—Hon. Sale Secretary: Miss Bertha Brewster.
U.S. Offices, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.

A Christmas Sale will be held in the Central Hall, Westminster, on Friday and Saturday, December 10 and 11, the proceeds of which will be devoted to the upkeep of the U.S. Women's Club at Southwark. This Club was opened last November with the object of providing recreation, companionship, substantial teas at cost price, and a warm, cheerful meeting-place for women and girls in the South of London. Our Club Secretary's weekly reports have given our readers some idea of the progress the Club has made throughout the year. In entering upon our second year of existence we shall want funds to enable us to carry on a work which we feel is really worth doing at a time of national stress and sorrow like the present. The Club has helped us all, in enabling us to meet and cheer one another up while so many of our men folk are bravely fighting at the front. It is of special benefit to women who are working hard all day, in the home or the factory; and it is for them we are appealing when we ask all members of the U.S. and all readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN to write at once to Miss Brewster, who is kindly organising the Christmas Sale, saying in what way they will help to make it a success.

THE STALLS

The following stalls are already appropriated:—

Sweet Stall.—Mrs. Goodman.

Soldiers' and Sailors' Stall.—Mrs. Davies (whose husband, Captain Herbert Davies, recently won the Military Cross) has kindly undertaken this stall, which will be devoted to all kinds of articles, from woollen comforts to food, suitable for transport to soldiers and sailors at the front.

Useful Articles.—Amersham U.S. Mrs. Drinkwater is in charge of this stall, every article upon which will be useful, and ranging in price from 1d. to 10s.

Refreshments.—Miss Walford. This is a big undertaking, as it means organising the teas and light suppers for the two days. Miss Walford will therefore be most grateful for offers of help and promises of food and money.

Other Stalls, not yet appropriated, will be Farm Produce and Food, Cakes, Books, Toys, Blouses, Christmas Cards and Calendars, and any others that members may offer to undertake, *excepting Fancy Stalls. It is earnestly requested that no fancy articles be sent.*

Promises of goods for any or all of the above stalls, or gifts of money, will be gladly received as soon as possible.

OTHER SOCIETIES

The following Societies have replied to our offer of co-operation and will be represented at the Sale by stalls, the proceeds of which will be devoted to their own funds: The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union (Hon. Sec., Mrs. Mansell Moullin, 69, Wimpole Street, W.); the Church League, and the Free Church League.

WAR INTERCESSION

We remind our readers of the Special Intercession Service arranged by the Church League for Women's Suffrage at the request of the United Suffragists, which will be conducted by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Southwark in Southwark Cathedral (south side of London Bridge; nearest Underground, Monument Station; motor-bus route, 18 and others) on Saturday, October 9, at 3 p.m.

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper

THE OUTLOOK

Two events of interest to us and our readers have occurred simultaneously this week. The first is our removal into new ground floor offices at the very convenient address, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C., where we hope our friends will take an early opportunity of visiting us. The other occurrence we wish to emphasise is that this issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN marks the beginning of a new volume—Volume IX. To-day is, in fact, our ninth birthday; and we call upon all who think that it is worth while to carry on our particular fight for freedom, and all who want to back us up in the very difficult task with which we are grappling at the present time, to mark the occasion by doing us one or more of the services we enumerate on page 6.

Good News from Alberta

Our Canadian fellow-citizens do not appear to share the belief of some people that the moment of a war for European freedom is the wrong moment in which to trouble about freedom at home. According to the Ottawa correspondent of the *Daily News*, the leaders of the two political parties in the Province of Alberta, Dominion of Canada, have signed an agreement which makes it a practical certainty that the women of Alberta will be enfranchised as soon as the Legislature meets again. This is a matter for real congratulation, no other Canadian Province having as yet taken this step, although it is thought that Saskatchewan and Manitoba will be the next to follow in the same direction. No doubt the close proximity of the American Suffrage State of Montana has had something to do with the victory in Alberta. This is one of the moments when we could wish that we did not dwell upon an island ourselves. For, seeing how impervious our legislators continue to be to the good example set in our near neighbourhood by Norway, Denmark, and even the Isle of Man, we can only draw the conclusion that water acts as a Suffrage non-conductor. Meanwhile we send our hearty congratulations to our fellow Suffragists in Alberta.

The Trafalgar Square Demonstration

"A tax upon the necessities of life is a tax upon life. If women were in power there would be no taxes upon food until every bit of luxury in the country had been taxed." These words were uttered amid loud applause by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, last Sunday afternoon in Trafalgar Square; and they were the keynote of the great joint demonstration held there by Suffrage Societies and Trade Unionists. The United Suffragists were well represented on the platform by Mrs. Lawrence and Mrs. Ayton Gould; and other excellent speeches, demanding votes for women and equal pay for equal work, were made by Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mr. Outhwaite, M.P., Mrs. Despard, Mr. Robert Williams, and many others. The demonstration, of which we give some account on the opposite page, and which was well reported in the *Manchester Guardian*

and *Morning Post*, was an unqualified success, and it is a long time since so dense and unanimous an audience assembled in the Square. It was impossible to listen to the comments of the crowd without realising afresh that it is not the people of England, in or out of khaki, who wish to deny women a voice in government. When will the Cabinet realise this?

The Nation's Children in Danger

A very grave danger threatens the nation's children and, therefore, the nation. As a result of negotiations between the Master Cotton Spinners' Federation and the Trade Union organisations, a deputation of masters and trade union representatives was to wait upon the Home Secretary on Wednesday, after we went to press, with a view to obtaining a relaxation of the Factory Acts, the effect of which would be to allow children to work full time in the mills at the age of thirteen instead of fourteen, as at present, and to allow them to work overtime at seventeen instead of eighteen, as at present. We cannot speak too seriously of the grave issue that is here involved. The half-time system is already a pernicious one, making boys and girls prematurely old at the most critical period of their lives. Yet here is a worse proposal still, to enable boys and girls to become responsible wage-earners at an age when the children of the rich are going away to school, under the most favourable conditions, in many cases for the first time.

The Murder of Childhood

The General Union of Textile Workers are evidently alive to this threatened revival of child-slavery in the mills, for their Executive passed a strong resolution last week, protesting "most strongly" against it, and adding that "no return to the old barbarous system of the last century ought to be encouraged or allowed." But while we hope that the Home Office will stand firm, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that Child Labour Laws can only be trusted to be effective in those countries where women have the vote, and that the proposal we are discussing here is all the more likely to be adopted because it is ostensibly "for the period of the war only." Even so, with our boys of fourteen also working in 10½ hour night shifts in Woolwich Arsenal (as was revealed in a question in the House, last week); and with the Rowley Regis Education Committee protesting against girls of 13 being engaged on night shift duty in the Birmingham munition factories, it looks as though the war of 1914-15 were being fought in the nurseries of the poor; and the wastage involved from a racial point of view is disastrous. Of the human side of this murder of childhood we cannot trust ourselves to speak.

Mr. Keir Hardie

Suffragists, especially militant Suffragists, will endorse the words of the *Manchester Guardian*, which occur in its leading article on Mr. Keir Hardie, who died of pneumonia in a nursing home at Glasgow, last Saturday:—

He had a courage high and unflinching, because wholly spontaneous and natural, and no fear of being in a minority or representing an unpopular cause ever deflected him for a second from the strict course marked out by his generous instincts.

In the very earliest days of militancy, Mr. Keir Hardie stood by the little group of women who started the Women's Social and Political Union in London. It was he who, on November 7, 1906, introduced a Woman Suffrage Bill under the ten minutes' rule; he who, in the same month, seconded Lord Robert Cecil's amendment to the Plural Voting Bill, postponing the operation of the Bill till after the General Election, "unless in the meantime the franchise had been given to women"; he who spoke with Mr. Zangwill at the Exeter Hall meeting, after the first "Mud March," and

urged the women to put their enfranchisement "before every other political cause."

His Protests Against Injustice

His protests against the Government's treatment of the militants gave him, however, his strongest claim upon our grateful memory of him. When they were being shamefully treated by the police outside the House of Commons, Mr. Hardie rose and protested, first to the Speaker and then to the Home Secretary. When the "Brawling Bill" (to stop women from asking questions at Cabinet Ministers' meetings) was under consideration, he supposed the Bill "was only necessary because the Government had failed to redeem their pledges to women, and because women had been driven to extreme measures through their inability to trust to the honour of the House of Commons." And amid the jeers of the House, he was the first to denounce the abomination of forcible feeding in the autumn of 1909. All this seems very ancient history now. But Mr. Keir Hardie's share in it will never be forgotten by the women whose cause he so unerringly championed.

Items of Interest

Among the subjects of interest to our readers that the National Union of Women Workers will discuss at their annual Conference in the Central Hall, Westminster (October 4-8), will be "Women's Share in the Work of Reconstruction after the War," "Criminal Assaults upon Children," "Maternity Centres and Infant Welfare."

The City Coroner stated recently at an inquest that it seemed to be hopeless "to convince the poorer classes of the wisdom of putting infants into cots." Has he ever tried to keep a baby warm in a banana box, in the ordinary tenement inhabited by the "poorer classes"?

The special correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*, now at the Italian Front, states that the provisions for the troops on some of the heights, "which even mules will not climb," are carried up entirely by women. This does not look as though they were too physically inferior to men to be paid equal wages with men!

Imitation Foul
Street Coats

We have now in stock a large variety of Imitation Fur Coats, similar in character to the garment sketched. All these Coats are made from selected English Cloths, which are such clever imitations as to be scarcely distinguishable from real fur. They are, moreover, light in weight and particularly warm and comfortable.

Fur-trimmed Imitation Fur Coat, as sketched, in fine quality silk, finished pony cloth, lined throughout soft silk, perfectly cut and finished. Fur collar.

78/6



Debenham & Freebody
Wigmore Street, London, W.

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. Telephone, Holborn 5880
Colours: Purple, White and Orange

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper

THE OUTLOOK

Two events of interest to us and our readers have occurred simultaneously this week. The first is our removal into new ground floor offices at the very convenient address, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C., where we hope our friends will take an early opportunity of visiting us. The other occurrence we wish to emphasise is that this issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN marks the beginning of a new volume—Volume IX. To-day is, in fact, our ninth birthday; and we call upon all who think that it is worth while to carry on our particular fight for freedom, and all who want to back us up in the very difficult task with which we are grappling at the present time, to mark the occasion by doing us one or more of the services we enumerate on page 6.

Good News from Alberta

Our Canadian fellow-citizens do not appear to share the belief of some people that the moment of a war for European freedom is the wrong moment in which to trouble about freedom at home. According to the Ottawa correspondent of the *Daily News*, the leaders of the two political parties in the Province of Alberta, Dominion of Canada, have signed an agreement which makes it a practical certainty that the women of Alberta will be enfranchised as soon as the Legislature meets again. This is a matter for real congratulation, no other Canadian Province having as yet taken this step, although it is thought that Saskatchewan and Manitoba will be the next to follow in the same direction. No doubt the close proximity of the American Suffrage State of Montana has had something to do with the victory in Alberta. This is one of the moments when we could wish that we did not dwell upon an island ourselves. For, seeing how impervious our legislators continue to be to the good example set in our near neighbourhood by Norway, Denmark, and even the Isle of Man, we can only draw the conclusion that water acts as a Suffrage non-conductor. Meanwhile we send our hearty congratulations to our fellow Suffragists in Alberta.

The Trafalgar Square Demonstration

"A tax upon the necessities of life is a tax upon life. If women were in power there would be no taxes upon food until every bit of luxury in the country had been taxed." These words were uttered amid loud applause by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, last Sunday afternoon in Trafalgar Square; and they were the keynote of the great joint demonstration held there by Suffrage Societies and Trade Unionists. The United Suffragists were well represented on the platform by Mrs. Lawrence and Mrs. Ayrton Gould; and other excellent speeches, demanding votes for women and equal pay for equal work, were made by Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mr. Outhwaite, M.P., Mrs. Despard, Mr. Robert Williams, and many others. The demonstration, of which we give some account on the opposite page, and which was well reported in the *Manchester Guardian*

and *Morning Post*, was an unqualified success, and it is a long time since so dense and unanimous an audience assembled in the Square. It was impossible to listen to the comments of the crowd without realising afresh that it is not the people of England, in or out of khaki, who wish to deny women a voice in government. When will the Cabinet realise this?

The Nation's Children in Danger

A very grave danger threatens the nation's children and, therefore, the nation. As a result of negotiations between the Master Cotton Spinners' Federation and the Trade Union organisations, a deputation of masters and trade union representatives was to wait upon the Home Secretary on Wednesday, after we went to press, with a view to obtaining a relaxation of the Factory Acts, the effect of which would be to allow children to work full time in the mills at the age of thirteen instead of fourteen, as at present, and to allow them to work overtime at seventeen instead of eighteen, as at present. We cannot speak too seriously of the grave issue that is here involved. The half-time system is already a pernicious one, making boys and girls prematurely old at the most critical period of their lives. Yet here is a worse proposal still, to enable boys and girls to become responsible wage-earners at an age when the children of the rich are going away to school, under the most favourable conditions, in many cases for the first time.

The Murder of Childhood

The General Union of Textile Workers are evidently alive to this threatened revival of child-slavery in the mills, for their Executive passed a strong resolution last week, protesting "most strongly" against it, and adding that "no return to the old barbarous system of the last century ought to be encouraged or allowed." But while we hope that the Home Office will stand firm, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that Child Labour Laws can only be trusted to be effective in those countries where women have the vote, and that the proposal we are discussing here is all the more likely to be adopted because it is ostensibly "for the period of the war only." Even so, with our boys of fourteen also working in 10½ hour night shifts in Woolwich Arsenal (as was revealed in a question in the House, last week); and with the Rowley Regis Education Committee protesting against girls of 13 being engaged on night shift duty in the Birmingham munition factories, it looks as though the war of 1914-15 were being fought in the nurseries of the poor; and the wastage involved from a racial point of view is disastrous. Of the human side of this murder of childhood we cannot trust ourselves to speak.

Mr. Keir Hardie

Suffragists, especially militant Suffragists, will endorse the words of the *Manchester Guardian*, which occur in its leading article on Mr. Keir Hardie, who died of pneumonia in a nursing home at Glasgow, last Saturday:—

He had a courage high and unflinching, because wholly spontaneous and natural, and no fear of being in a minority or representing an unpopular cause ever deflected him for a second from the strict course marked out by his generous instincts. In the very earliest days of militancy, Mr. Keir Hardie stood by the little group of women who started the Women's Social and Political Union in London. It was he who, on November 7, 1906, introduced a Woman Suffrage Bill under the ten minutes' rule; he who, in the same month, seconded Lord Robert Cecil's amendment to the Plural Voting Bill, postponing the operation of the Bill till after the General Election, "unless in the meantime the franchise had been given to women"; he who spoke with Mr. Zangwill at the Exeter Hall meeting, after the first "Mud March," and

urged the women to put their enfranchisement "before every other political cause."

His Protests Against Injustice

His protests against the Government's treatment of the militants gave him, however, his strongest claim upon our grateful memory of him. When they were being shamefully treated by the police outside the House of Commons, Mr. Hardie rose and protested, first to the Speaker and then to the Home Secretary. When the "Brawling Bill" (to stop women from asking questions at Cabinet Ministers' meetings) was under consideration, he supposed the Bill "was only necessary because the Government had failed to redeem their pledges to women, and because women had been driven to extreme measures through their inability to trust to the honour of the House of Commons." And amid the jeers of the House, he was the first to denounce the abomination of forcible feeding in the autumn of 1909. All this seems very ancient history now. But Mr. Keir Hardie's share in it will never be forgotten by the women whose cause he so unerringly championed.

Items of Interest

Among the subjects of interest to our readers that the National Union of Women Workers will discuss at their annual Conference in the Central Hall, Westminster (October 4-8), will be "Women's Share in the Work of Reconstruction after the War," "Criminal Assaults upon Children," "Maternity Centres and Infant Welfare."

The City Coroner stated recently at an inquest that it seemed to be hopeless "to convince the poorer classes of the wisdom of putting infants into cots." Has he ever tried to keep a baby warm in a banana box, in the ordinary tenement inhabited by the "poorer classes"?

The special correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*, now at the Italian Front, states that the provisions for the troops on some of the heights, "which even mules will not climb," are carried up entirely by women. This does not look as though they were too physically inferior to men to be paid equal wages with men!

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1915.

ZEPPELINS AND CHIVALRY

One of the conceptions revolutionised by the war has been that of patriotism; another, that of chivalry. The conception of patriotism as a blind bragging about the excellence of one's own country—a conception far more widely spread in all countries a few years ago than we now like to remember—has been purified into a generous intention that, at whatever cost of self-sacrifice, one's country shall become excellent. The conception of chivalry as a blind dominance for the one sex and something between languid dependence and meretricious provocation for the other is likewise disappearing under the stress of unprecedented and unanticipated conditions. A nation which has to appeal for the service of its women to keep it going—above all, a nation which finds its women ready and able to answer the appeal—is no longer Victorian, and may soon be victorious. There is no bond like the sharing of effort and sacrifice, and the two sexes which war has joined together in that bond it will not be for peace to put asunder. But the recognition of equality is a necessary prelude to a happy and self-respecting union. It is because that recognition is still in so many quarters subconsciously denied that we harp upon its necessity. We say "subconsciously," because lip-service to the new dignity and freedom of women as recognised movers of the national machine is offered by many who do not grasp the implications of their own attitude. We are not ungrateful for this new attitude: on the contrary, we want to strengthen it by showing to those who hold it how full of beauty and promise it is.

In all wars non-combatants have been killed, or worse than killed. Zeppelins and German submarines have provided dramatically striking and morally hideous examples of the killing of non-combatants: they have increased its scope, they have added to its terrors: but we must not be seduced by that into forgetting the real status of the non-combatant in war. It is perfectly true that, if the bombardment by aerial machines of munition factories is admitted to be a legitimate act of war; if even, legitimate or not, it is an act frequently performed; and if at the same time women are deliberately invited into munition factories to serve their country, then women are being placed, openly and of definite intention, in the firing line, in a way in which they have not been in previous wars. But it may be freely admitted that the casualties so caused are likely to be infinitesimal compared with the casualties of men who go into battle. The situation is striking, is novel, but it is only a minor illustration of a huge and ancient fact. Similarly with the women killed by the errors of

mere wantonness of Zeppelins—casual casualties, helpless victims, unrecorded martyrs to their country's endeavour. The number of these is not, and is not likely to be, in any way comparable to the number of men lost in a single battle. It is not on such stray instances that we depend when we speak of the equality of women's sacrifice. The risks of childbirth have always been recognised as comparable to the risks of war. As for the pangs of separation from those who go into danger, the pressure of industrial conditions, the weight of worry and privation and self-denial caused by high prices and low wages, the bitterness of the unnecessary wastage of child life through poverty—all these, bad enough in peace, increased beyond imagination or belief in war—these are the things we mean when we claim that women do their part in the risk and suffering of the nation. (And remember that some at least of these sufferings are remediable or modifiable by that political action from which women are excluded.) If the sympathy extended by newly-converted sympathisers to the women who suffer from Zeppelin raids and other novelties of war were to confine itself to the special instances, were to divert attention from the age-long facts, it would be an empty, a harmful, and an insulting sympathy. To do justice to its own sincerity it must let the special instance serve as only one sign of the general conditions. It must realise that always, in peace and war, women's part, though different, is equal.

And, so doing, it must go further. It must give up the old pretences of chivalry. Women have always been in the firing line of life, but have been denied the recognition of that because a few of them were artificially protected from the dangers which were artificially directed against most of them. Now that they are openly and unquestionably in the firing line, that recognition must be accorded. Women ask for no special protection: they ought to be "protected" by justice from injustice, but so ought men. Chivalry was invented by man to assure himself the double complacency of exercising force and congratulating himself on his gentility in not exercising force. To be chivalrous is to abstain from doing what you ought to do, on the excuse that you are doing what other people ought not to prefer. Under chivalry, man put one woman in the home, one in the brothel, one on a pedestal, and one on the shelf—all without consultation or consideration.

All these false standards must go, and indeed are going. The shock of war has shaken people out of their comfortable prejudices; its glare has cast a dreadful illumination into places that were dark before. It is impossible to believe, however much one may detest the hideous waste of war, that it is all waste: out of the suffering must come sympathy, out of the loss must come understanding of others' losses. A true sympathy must respect its object: there will hereafter be a new equality and a new freedom of comradeship and service. If we whose lives are not taken by the war do not see to that, we shall have betrayed every ideal for which the others have died. We want no sentimentalities over the special cases: a woman is struck down here, a man there—both were dear to those who loved them, and to pretend that the death of the one is intrinsically worse than the death of the other is after all only sentimentality. Pain from which no good is drawn leads to madness, whether in individuals or in nations. From our common pain let us draw the common good of a new faith in equality.

THE NEW CANT ABOUT WOMEN

By T. O'Meara

There is a peculiarly aggravating sort of cant of which we have heard a good deal recently, whenever and wherever the problem of woman's admission to new industries has cropped up; and we shall hear still more of it upon the "outbreak of peace," when the return of thousands of ex-soldiers to the labour market will make of each industry an overcrowded raft, sailing perilous waters of destitution; and when before each worker will rise the dreadful question: "Who is to go overboard?"

Smelling-salts and Backboards

For, when a certain class of anti-suffragist man has put forward every possible objection to the employment of female labour, and has been answered on every point, he has always one expedient left. He can lower his voice, assume an expression of chivalrous concern, and murmur something about "unsuitability—unfit—delicate frames—mothers of the race," and so gain credit for unusual thoughtfulness as well as a comparative freedom from opposition. The other men will heartily applaud him; and he will also receive support from those dear old ladies whose youth was spent in a Victorian atmosphere of smelling-salts and backboards. They will quote the professional opinion of eminent medical men, who have never seen a woman professionally unless there was something pretty serious the matter with her.

And it never seems to occur to anybody that of all thundering pieces of cheek the cheek of a man calmly dictating to a woman what shall and what shall not cause her physical discomfort and expose her to physical risks, fairly takes the biscuit. There is really no other way of expressing it. Heaven knows, the men have not been exactly remarkable hitherto for the cultivation of sex-hygiene amongst themselves! Still, no woman would be so foolish as to assume a similar position of authority towards the male. They do not, for instance, say that the entrance of man into those industries formerly reserved for women only—industries such as cooking, baking, dressmaking, and brewing—is undesirable in many ways, but chiefly because a man is formed by Nature to be a father, and therefore should avoid indoor occupation tending to produce tuberculosis, anæmia, and other enfesbling and possibly hereditary ailments. Yet it would surely be as reasonable for women to do this as for a man to inform a toughened, energetic spinster of thirty-five that, for the sake of the Race, she must not undertake the duties of a booking-clerk or a tram-conductor. Women must, in the nature of things, know best what is good for them, and in any case I remember a certain small boy who, when reproved by his mother for rubbing his eye when he had a bit of grit in it, responded indignantly: "Well, mummy, it's *my* eye, ain't it?"

Our Chaotic Social System

It is unfortunately true that in our present chaotic social system the majority of outdoor female workers, and those upon whom fall the heaviest tasks, are the mothers of young families. Probably, given anything like decent conditions, they suffer less from the double strain than might be imagined. I know of one sturdy lady who utilised the enforced "leisure" of each successive confinement for a grand orgy of household cleaning, and invariably spent the day following the baby's arrival at the wash-

tub. We must also remember that a large number of young girls who enter the labour market for a few years previous to marriage are the daughters of small shopkeepers, artisans, and mechanics—a class suffering in quite a peculiar way from neglect of the elementary rules of health and fitness. They come between the strapping servant-girl stock and the athletic maidens of the wealthier classes; commonly they sleep, two or three together, in a small, stuffy bedroom, with the window shut to keep the curtains clean and save washing bills; they consider it ungenteel to display a healthy appetite at meals, and fortify themselves instead with unlimited cheap chocolates; their outdoor exercise is limited to a walk to the local picture hall twice a week and a stroll with a "feller" on Sunday afternoons; and their clothing is a miracle of everything a growing girl should not wear.

No wonder they become pale and "nervy," and often relapse into a chronic condition of

ill-health; no wonder they form a vast reserve of incapable, ultra-delicate females for our "anti" friends to draw examples from. It is largely for the sake of these poor little damsels that we are so anxious to raise their whole social status, and give them the advantages enjoyed by their more fortunate sisters, whose grandmothers were in quite as bad a case till the awakening spirit of the Woman's Movement came and taught them to take a greater pride in their muscles and eyesight than in their wax flowers and crochet.

It is precisely the women best fitted for hard physical work, by reason of natural ability and sound bodily condition, who have not hitherto been called upon to do anything except play games and cultivate their hobbies, philanthropic or propagandist. We have now a chance to see what they can do; and they will probably surprise us as much as the dandified young "knot" of 1913 has surprised us by his feats of endurance in the trenches.

PAYING FOR THE WAR

When a book attempts not merely a general envisagement or a general solution of an economic and financial problem, but detailed arguments and suggestions extending over almost the whole field of public finance, it is too much to expect that all readers should agree with every detail; and Mr. Scurr, we imagine, would even in a sense be a little disappointed if his contentions did not arouse a certain amount of discussion and dispute. But we venture to think that a great number of our readers, of whatever political opinions, will accept certain basic principles which underlie Mr. Scurr's theories—and which all who know the splendid spirit of his Suffrage work will naturally expect to find underlying *any* theory he advances. There are principles where ethical justice and practical politics meet, and surely one of them is the principle that you must not tax the workers beyond the point where the purchasing power of their wages is sufficient to keep them and their dependants in health. Indirect taxation, especially on food, falls on the poor wage-earner in an incredibly higher proportion than on the well-to-do: the figures have to be studied to be believed. The bare fact is that the man or woman far below income-tax level actually pays a vastly higher proportion of income in taxation than the man or woman far above it: consequently, an increase in food taxes is actually wasteful, for it decreases the health, and therefore the economic productivity, of the race. Starting from this basis, Mr. Scurr inquires into various modes of raising the vast sums required by war expenditure. He writes not as an extravagant idealist, but as a practical man: his suggested income-tax, for instance, may prove to be milder than that imposed by the Budget which will have been promulgated before this review is in print: and it is this mildness, this reasonableness, which will appeal to many people whose general political views are very different from Mr. Scurr's. The two prime questions are (a) ability of various classes of the community to pay without individual hardship or national loss; (b) modes of getting at the money without checking productivity, or offering easy opportunities of evasion, or involving difficult and expensive machinery of collection. In the light of these principles, Mr. Scurr considers somewhat minutely the proposals

for taxing wages, for the single tax, for the adjustment of super-tax, and so forth. His method is throughout tabular and statistical. Not all his tables are of equal value, but most of them are drawn from the best sources available, and the mass of information he has collected is little short of amazing. That alone would make the book worth purchasing by the Suffrage propagandist. Some of the figures—as to cost of living, wastage of child life, etc.—are familiar to our own readers, and one set is drawn from these columns: but the variety and minuteness of the tabulated facts Mr. Scurr gives are not only exceptional, but are greatly in excess of what we could find space even to indicate. Equally impossible is it to examine in detail the constructive proposals for taxing land values, banking profits, and income: for preventing evasion of payment: or for securing the maximum profit from liquor licences, while at the same time decreasing their number. There is scarcely a page on which discussion might not be invited—but that only makes the work the more stimulating. A valuable feature is the collection, in the form of appendices, of tables giving essential facts of national revenue, income-tax returns, distribution of wealth, divisions of wages, variation of wages and prices, etc.

The Family Income a Taxable Unit

On one point we must definitely join issue. Mr. Scurr wants the family income taxed as a unit. Now the incomes of husband and wife are already regarded, for income-tax purposes, as one, and grave injustice often results to both parties. If the relations *within* the family were always perfect: if the earnings of all members of it were pooled or divided on some universally unquestioned principle of justice, and if the housewife's work were reckoned at its full economic value to the State (instead of, as now, being tacitly regarded as "unproductive," as merely the work of a "dependant"), then, perhaps, Mr. Scurr's scheme might do. But while there is so much inequality, both economic and customary, in the individual home, while the right of adjusting expenditure is so largely confined to the male "head of the house," the unifying of income for taxation would, it seems to us, only enlarge that injustice to which husband and wife are already in this connection subjected. But Mr. Scurr is so sound and constructive, so helpful and self-sacrificing a Suffragist—the movement owes him so much—that no one will grudge him his heresy. We recommend his volume to our readers as an extraordinary shilling's worth, as an honest and careful and thoughtful treatment of problems infinitely difficult and incalculably important.

* "Casting the Silver Bullets: A Suggested Method of Raising the Necessary Taxation to Pay for the War." By John Scurr. (The Limit Publishing Co. Price 1s. net.)

"VOTES FOR WOMEN"

Our Ninth Birthday—New Volume Begins To-day—Now is the Time to Subscribe

We move into new offices—at 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.—as we bring out the first issue of our new volume. For a year of war we have grappled with what seemed, last October, a well-nigh impossible task. We have tried in the face of an international upheaval to keep before us the great goal of freedom towards which all our endeavour for the last eight years has been directed. We have tried, while our countrymen have gone out to fight with the war cry of Liberty, to keep alive the struggle for Liberty at home. While our gallant soldiers at the front are dying for our country, we strive without ceasing to make it worth dying for. By keeping the Suffrage flag flying, by ventilating the grievances and safeguarding the rights of women, we have tried to do our bit both for men and women at home, so that when the men come back they will not find industrial standards lowered and life made more difficult than before.

Will our Readers do Their Bit, Too?

That is the task we set ourselves, rather more than a year ago. It is for our readers, not for us, to say whether we have succeeded or whether we have failed. We can only claim to have set a high purpose before us, and to have tried our hardest to live up to it. And if we have come short of failure, if we have, in the opinion of our readers, justified our attempt and shown it to be worth making—will they now do their bit, too? Will they come forward in their hundreds and their thousands and show that they want to back us up and help us in our fight, by doing one or more of the following things?

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SELLING THE PAPER TO WOMEN ARMY TAILORS

The 1,300 women workers at the Army Clothing Factory at Pimlico have a strong Trade Union, and, in pleasant contrast to many women wage-earners, they are, on the whole, well clad and happy looking. The result of this is that they do a little more than live—they think. And the result of thinking, of course, is that they want the Vote, to safeguard the rights they have, and to win some more. Their earnings fall considerably short of what men tailors would receive for the same skilled work. And this is not surprising, since they are directly employed by a Government that, responsible only to a male electorate, has laid down by Act of Parliament the principle that whilst a

tailor needs a minimum wage of 6d. per hour, a tailoress can manage to live on 3½d. per hour.

The workers who went in the dinner hour to sell VOTES FOR WOMEN at the factory gates to announce the Trafalgar Square demonstration were greeted by the women like old friends. Old friends indeed we are, for some of the very earliest open-air Suffrage meetings in London were held outside this factory. Men as well as women were eager customers, and some pertinent comments on the poster—"Mr. Lloyd George reads VOTES FOR WOMEN"—were made—"Glad he reads something so sensible," and "Hope it will do him good." One of the sellers has promised to be there every Friday at the dinner hour.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN ALBERTA

What promises to be a Suffrage victory in Canada was announced in the *Daily News* on September 23, after we went to press last week. The Ottawa correspondent of that newspaper cabled as follows:—

"A telegram from Edmonton states that the Government of the province of Alberta have decided upon the question of equal suffrage for men and women, which has been under consideration for a long time.

"The announcement is now made that the province will unanimously adopt equal suffrage at the next session of the Legislature. This announcement is signed by the Hon. Arthur Sifton, the Premier of the province, and also by the Leader of the Opposition.

"Alberta will be the first of Canada's nine provinces to adopt the measure. It is believed that Saskatchewan and Manitoba will shortly follow Alberta's example."

We comment in our "Outlook," on page 3, on this important and encouraging piece of news.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN RUHLEBEN

The *Manchester Guardian* (September 22) gives an amusing account, which has reached it in a booklet, of a mock by-election recently held at the Ruhleben camp for interned British civilians.

"Three candidates—a Liberal, Conservative, and Women's Suffrage—were duly adopted," it relates;

LEST YOU FORGET!

Make a note of the new address of the United Suffragists' Headquarters, and the VOTES FOR WOMEN Editorial, Publishing, and Advertising Offices:—

27, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON, W.C.

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Sole Telegraphic Address: Unsuffra, Holb. London.

(N.B.—The second telegraphic address, Votfowom, is now discontinued.)

"two boiler houses which the military authorities had given permission to be used were turned into committee-rooms, placards were posted, voters canvassed, and the liveliest meetings held—until the authorities 'expressed a desire that the demonstration and noise should cease.' But the campaign was not stifled; on polling day nearly two-thirds of the borough—2,689 electors—recorded their votes. The Women's Suffrage candidate was returned with a handsome majority, but as his 'platform' was very much more concerned with the absence of women themselves than with the denial of votes to them, and his chief election cry, 'Think of your wives and sweethearts,' too much significance should not be attached to his success."

Knowing, as we do, how applause is always forthcoming in an English audience at home when any mention of a Suffrage victory in another country is made, we are not at all surprised to hear that, as soon as British men are interned in a foreign country, they become enthusiastic about Woman Suffrage at home. But we are not so cynical about it as the *Manchester Guardian*. We are by no means sure that the men who voted for Woman Suffrage at Ruhleben last month will not come home and vote for Woman Suffrage in England—if they are given a chance. But be that as it may, we have enough sense of humour to enjoy the account of the Ruhleben by-election, whether it means anything or not.

THE BUDGET

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Knowing that VOTES FOR WOMEN stands for the defence of all women of whatever class who are unjustly attacked, I desire to protest against the injustice and wrong committed through the Budget upon all women as a class, and especially upon those having small fixed incomes classed as "unearned," though they are often practically earned, and very hardly earned, by thought, care, and self-denial. My own case will act as an illustration, and I am hoping that it may open the eyes of women generally to the injury inflicted upon them by the differentiation in income tax brought in originally, I believe, with the view of crushing women's economic independence, and thus rendering them helpless to criticise or combine against any legislative wrong which may be inflicted upon them in their present voteless condition.

It is generally admitted that women usually have so-called "unearned" incomes to a much greater extent than men. This is not their fault, because they are not, as men are as a rule, trained to get their living, nor are such large sums spent on their education and training as on men, therefore it is oppressive and unjust to tax them higher on account of this disability.

I am a widow with a son to support, and yet I am called upon under the Budget to pay a much heavier income tax than men (i.e., £60 6s. 8d. to the latter's £42 on the same income). At the same time, the abatement is lowered and food and nearly all other necessities are going up seriously in price. The fact that there was no real necessity to raise the already high income tax (at least so early in the war), for the taxation of all tickets for places of amusement would have obviated it, and fallen far more lightly upon the people, forces one to the conclusion that women are intended for financial attack, for only in this way can they be rendered economically helpless and dependent upon man, and therefore at his mercy, politically and socially.

Again I warn women, as I did some months ago, that they must combine, as men have done, for the protection of their just rights, or this savage attack on their financial position may lead to worse wrongs. No better illustration could possibly have been given of the dangers attending legislation for a voteless class than by this Budget. It shows up the vital and urgent necessity of insisting upon the vote, even in war time.—Yours, &c.,

CHARLOTTE E. IRELAND.

Colwyn Bay, September 27, 1915.

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COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES
Scalding a Barmaid

The *Morning Advertiser* (September 20) reports case of a porter charged before Mr. Bros at Clerkenwell Police Court with inflicting grievous bodily harm on a barmaid by pushing an urn containing two gallons of boiling water over her because she refused him drink on account of his condition. She was badly scalded and lost consciousness. The divisional surgeon said there would be no permanent scar and she was recovering from the shock. The magistrate said the case was not serious enough to go to Sessions.

Sentence: Two months' imprisonment.

Cruelty to a Horse

The *Birkenhead News* (September 18) reports case of a carman and a horse-keeper, summoned at the County Police Court before Sir William Forwood and Messrs. A. S. Gaskell and Joseph Delamore, for cruelty to a horse by working it when unfit, and for causing it to be so worked, respectively. There were large and small sores under the saddle and on the shoulder, and it was in great pain and in a shocking condition. There was a previous conviction against the horse-keeper.

Sentences: The carman fined 10s. and the horsekeeper fined 15s. and 5s. costs.

HEAVY SENTENCES
False Pretences

The *Manchester Guardian* (July 22) reports case of a man charged at the London Sessions with attempting to obtain by false pretences sums amounting to £368 from various persons with intent to defraud. He claimed to be Russian and acquainted with the Prime Minister and Sir Edward Grey, and begged to be allowed to go and join the Russian Army.

Sentence: Three years' penal servitude, and recommended for deportation.

Stealing Bacon

The *Morning Advertiser* (August 27) reports case of a painter charged at the London Sessions before Mr. Allen James Lawrie with stealing a gammon of bacon from one of Messrs. Lipton's establishments at Woolwich, and also with resisting the constable who arrested him. There were previous convictions.

Sentence: Twenty-three months' imprisonment.

NO FURTHER THAN IN 1837

Mr. Pickwick and the Barmaid

We seem to have travelled only a little way in some directions since the year 1837, which marks the publication of the first edition of the "Pickwick Papers." For, after all, Mr. Pickwick's account of what happened to the barmaid at the Bull Inn, Rochester, marks a standard of conduct towards women not much lower than is shown by the insignificant punishment awarded in the case we quote above in our table of punishments. To refresh our readers' memories we quote Dickens' story in Mr. Pickwick's own words:—

"The streets present a lively and animated appearance, occasioned chiefly by the conviviality of the military. Nothing can exceed their good humour. It was but the day before my arrival that one of them had been most grossly insulted in the house of a publican. The barmaid had positively refused to draw him any more liquor; in return for which he had (merely in playfulness) drawn his bayonet and wounded the girl in the shoulder. And yet this fine fellow was the very first to go down to the house next morning and express his readiness to overlook the matter, and forget what had occurred." ("Pickwick Papers," Chapter III.)

With very few alterations, this paragraph might easily have been taken from some account to-day of a wife-beating case, or some other police court incident in which an apology from the man, or a plea of drunkenness, is at once accepted as sufficient excuse for condonation of his offence. Decidedly, we have not gone on very much farther in some ways since 1837!

EMBARRASSING—FOR WHOM?

The feelings of a counsel, it appears, are more sensitive and more to be considered than those of a young girl who finds herself alone in a Court of men. At the Southport Police Court, on September 22, women patrols attended in a case of assault, in which the chief witness was the young girl on whose behalf the charge was brought. The Chairman of the Bench (Mr. S. Lawson-Booth) said he thought it was hardly a case for the women to hear; and the defending solicitor added that their presence made it embarrassing for an advocate!

The Chairman, thus encouraged, said he could quite understand that it was very embarrassing to examine and cross-examine in a case like that; and he thought the ladies might trust the Bench. He added, however, that "it was just as they liked," and having

retired for a short time, the patrols returned and remained in Court till the end of the case, which was dismissed.

If the above astonishing incident had been reported in a less reputable paper than the *Manchester Guardian*, to which we are grateful for bringing it to light, we could scarcely have credited it. Accustomed as we are to muddle-headed thinking in our courts of justice, we stand amazed before such an evasion as the above of the essentials of the matter in question. That the possible embarrassment of a barrister should be allowed to overshadow the certain embarrassment (to put it no stronger) that would be endured by the girl who had to give evidence in a company of men, unsupported by a single member of her own sex, shows the way in which these cases are regarded in the courts. The possibility that a prosecuting counsel who is too much embarrassed to cross-examine in the presence of women is not a fit person to be retained in such a case, does not seem to have occurred either to Chairman or solicitor!

Truly, it is time that women were enabled by Act of Parliament to enter the legal professions, if only for the sake of defending women and girls in this particular class of case.

EQUAL AT LAST!

At last a case has occurred in which the equality of men and women has been openly admitted—and by a magistrate. A man applied to the Willesden magistrate, on September 22, for the reduction of the amount of his separation allowance to his wife, and advanced the plea that he could not afford to pay so much as 5s. a week, owing to the new taxes.

"For the same reason I do not see how your wife can do with much less than 5s.," said the magistrate.

The Press report ends there, so it is possible that the man's plea was not wholly disregarded. But it is something to have secured the admission by a magistrate that women are taxed equally with men.

COMING EVENTS

The Women's Freedom League will hold a public meeting in St. George's Vestry Hall, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, on Wednesday, October 6, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Despard and Miss Nina Boyle. Chair: Miss Eunice Murray.

The meeting which was to have been held at His Majesty's Theatre to-day (Friday) in aid of the British Women's Hospital, has been postponed till a later date, to be announced in due course.



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All advertisements must be prepaid. To secure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Friday morning. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE will hold public meetings every Wednesday afternoon in St. George's Vestry Hall, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C. (entrance in Little Russell Street), near British Museum. Holborn Tube stations. Speakers: October 6, Mrs. Despard, Miss Nina Boyle. Chair will be taken at 3.30 by Miss Eunice Murray.

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